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ABSTRACT

Just as human rights belong equally to all human beings and the role of government is to secure those rights, education in regard to human rights belongs in the core of civic education and the role of that education is to develop within the student a reasoned commitment to human rights. The writers of human rights documents throughout history have realized that the surest sanctuary for human rights is not in public documents, but in the minds of the people. There are three challenges for civic education about human rights. (1) A challenge of conceptualization exists, i.e., defining human rights, examining and appraising alternative positions about their meaning. As societies evolve, what citizens perceive as "new" rights and interpretations evolve from "old" rights and interpretations. (2) There is the challenge of analyzing the value conflicts in human rights documents. The paradoxical problem of human rights and freedom, or how to conjoin majority rule and minority rights to create a workable synthesis in an orderly society challenges all citizens to search for acceptable limits on contending forces. (3) The challenge of connecting national and international perspectives in the education of citizens must be faced. Citizens around the globe are more likely today than in the past to challenge violations of human rights both within and outside of their national political systems. Lessons on human rights that include international perspectives should balance human diversity with the fundamental unity of mankind. (PPB)

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by

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Introduction

Human rights: they belong equally to all human beings, and the primary reason for establishing government is, as Thomas Jefferson wrote, "to secure these rights"--so that all persons can enjoy them in a civil society.[1]

Human rights in education for citizenship: they belong in the core of civic education, and the primary purpose is development of reasoned commitment to them--so that, as James Madison wrote, "liberty and learning, each leaning on the other for their mutual support" will sustain a just polity, in which the rights of individuals are secure.[2]

These beliefs about human rights and education have strong and deep roots in the civic cultures of European and American nation-states, and they have been part of our civic agenda for a long time.

Two hundred years ago, on this very day, 17 September 1789, American lawmakers in the first session of Congress were deliberating and deciding about human rights. James Madison led the way on June 8, when he insisted that "we fortify the rights of the people against the encroachments of the government."[3] The discussion ended on 25 September

1789, when Congress agreed on twelve proposed amendments to the Constitution and sent them to the thirteen American states for their approval. On 15 December 1791, the required number of states ratified ten of these amendments, and citizens of the "first new nation"--the United States of America--had achieved a Bill of Rights, "what the people are entitled to against every government on earth," said Thomas Jefferson, "and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inference."[4]

During that same two-year period, 1789-1791, the people of France enacted their stirring Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and framed a Constitution to limit the powers of government and protect the rights of individuals. In both France and America, the framers of constitutional governments, based on the will of the people, recognized that their civic achievements could not endure without an enlightened citizenry. They agreed with Jefferson that, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."[5] They knew then, as we know today, that the surest sanctuary for human rights is not in public documents, but in the minds of the people, which can be improved through civic education.

The bicentennial observances of the American Constitution and Bill of Rights and the French Constitution and Declaration of the Rights of Man--these two-hundredth

anniversary celebrations are special occasions for reflection, deliberation, and discourse on three crucial challenges in civic education about human rights:

1. the challenge of conceptualization--defining human rights and examining and appraising alternative positions about their meaning,
2. the challenge of analyzing the value conflicts in human rights documents,
3. the challenge of connecting national and international perspectives in the education of citizens about human rights.

The following responses to these challenges pertain primarily to civic education in the United States, since they are based on my life-long experiences as an American civic educator. Furthermore, my responses are tentative and suggestive, for the purpose of stimulating discourse and provoking alternative viewpoints. I neither intend nor pretend to provide final answers, nor do I expect them from you. Rather, I anticipate that we will generate many good questions, but few unchallenged answers, as we face these three formidable challenges about human rights in education for citizenship.

Challenge Number One: Defining Human Rights--Examining and Appraising Alternative Positions about their Meaning

A first step in teaching and learning about human rights is confronting students with the challenge of definition. We say tautologically that, "Human rights are those rights to which all persons are entitled by virtue of their human-ness."[6] But what does this definition denote? What is and is not included in the concept of human rights that our students should learn and use in their civic education and in their lives as citizens?

It is likely that everyone in this room would readily agree on a few classic texts in Western civilization as exemplars of human rights and basic elements of any classroom investigation into the meaning and uses of this concept (e.g., Magna Carta and the so-called English Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man). These documents include familiar political liberties and civil rights, such as freedom of speech, press, and religious choice and due process in criminal proceedings, and they embody "negative liberty"--the eighteenth-century idea that government must be strictly limited by law to protect the rights of individuals.[7] As civic educators in the West, we emphasize the traditional human rights documents and find confirmation for this practice in curriculum guides and educational policies that direct us

to transmit this civic heritage to the "successor generation" of our society.[8]

Following World War II, the "old" civic values were newly expressed in the United Nations Charter and in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Articles 1 through 21 pertain mainly to human rights in the civic tradition of the West, such as these examples:[9]

- o Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law....
- o Article 11: Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary to his defence....
- o Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion....
- o Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression....
- o Article 20: Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association....

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, however, also proclaims "new" rights, which pertain to economic security and the general well being of people in society. These "new" human rights tend to reflect "positive liberty"--the nineteenth- and twentieth-century idea that

government should exercise power to promote social justice.[10] Articles 22 through 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights pertain to the "new" economic, cultural, and social rights. Consider these examples:

- o Article 23: Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- o Article 25: Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control....
- o Article 26: Everyone has the right to education....
- o Article 27: Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits....

The juxtaposition of "new" and "old" human rights has continued in the ongoing formulation of an "International Bill of Rights"--a seemingly open-ended set of documents that includes the following items: United Nations Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Covenant on Civil

and Political Rights, Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Some of the "new" rights have been joined to the "old" in the United States through federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions that have extended the meaning of the "general welfare" clause in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution. However, the evolving alliance between the "old" and "new" human rights has often been uneasy and tenuous. Whether stated explicitly in an international document, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or implicitly through interpretation of a national frame of government, such as the Constitution of the United States, there has been conflict over the interpretation and execution of "new" rights and their relationship to the "old" rights.

So, in their complex combinations of "old" and "new" human rights, the international documents and the evolving civic cultures of national constitutional democracies pose a formidable conceptual challenge for teachers and students of civics, because any definition of human rights in citizenship education must include both the "old" and the "new" rights. Furthermore, any definitional discussion in the classroom must be open-ended, because the operational meaning of human rights continues to unfold and is often in dispute.

In responding to this conceptual challenge teachers

and students ought to examine and compare a few seminal documents on human rights--at least the American Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And during this comparative investigation, students should be prompted to identify and compare the "old" political rights and the "new" economic and social rights. Further, they should be asked to rank these rights, to make judgments about those they think are more or less important. Finally, students should be challenged to consider the consequences for themselves and others of having or not having any of the rights in these seminal documents.

Are economic and social rights the most fundamental, as Marxists have claimed? High school students should be exposed to the argument that the "new human rights" are more important than the "old"--that the foundation of freedom and human dignity is freedom from hunger, disease, unemployment, and ignorance; and that the means to that freedom is collective action through public programs of assistance that provide jobs, housing, medical care, education, and social security. They should also compare and contrast this socialistic position on human rights with its predecessor, which emphasizes the kind of civil liberties and rights in the Constitution of the United States. And teachers should challenge students to evaluate these alternative positions, to make judgments about their

relative worth.

During this comparative and evaluative exercise, students may conclude that the seeming conflict between political rights and economic/social rights is a difference in degree not in kind, that both are necessary, and that neither one nor the other is sufficient to realization of the concept of human rights. Students would benefit, too, as I have, from the ideas on this issue of an eminent American philosopher, Sidney Hook, who died this summer after an active life of the mind that spanned most of the twentieth century. Hook strongly valued economic and social rights, but he believed in the primacy of political rights: "Democracy is a matter of degree, not of kind," wrote Sidney Hook. And he asserted, "Political democracy without economic democracy is incomplete. But economic democracy without political democracy is impossible."[11]

It is both easy and rather meaningless for teachers and students to generally define human rights and mechanically state examples of them in the seminal documents. In contrast, it is difficult and possibly controversial to engage in document-based examination and appraisal of the literal and operational meanings of human rights. But this course of pedagogical action is necessary, if civic educators would accept and overcome the conceptual challenge in teaching and learning about human rights.

Challenge Number Two: Analyzing the Value Conflicts in Human Rights Documents

Teaching and learning about the application of human rights to human social behavior inevitably raises public issues based on conflicts between competing civic values. For example, in both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the United States, there are statements about liberty and the general welfare. What happens, however, when these two values are in conflict--when freedom of expression, for example, infinges upon the security and safety of the community? Which of the values in conflict should prevail and under what circumstances?

Analysis of value conflicts in human rights documents must lead students to critical examination of claims that these rights are absolute or unlimited. But are they? Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black certainly thought so. He wrote: "It is my belief that there <u>are</u> 'absolutes' in our Bill of Rights, and that they were put there on purpose by men who knew what the words meant, and meant their prohibitions to be 'absolutes.'"[12]

Sidney Hook offers an alternative viewpoint:

> Grant, for the moment...the absolutistic view, that men are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, and property--and the indefinite number of other rights which these generic terms encompass. Surely no one could be so optimistic as to believe that they are all and always compatible with each other. The right to liberty, however specified, sometimes threatens the right to property and vice versa.... At any rate, no matter how the conflict between rights be resolved, one or the other right must be alienable. Otherwise the

> inalienable would entail the unlimited. If one denies unlimited powers to government, this does not entail the recognition of any unlimited specific right of the governed.[13]

An interesting example of Hook's point is the fundamental paradox of human rights to freedom in a constitutional democracy: the paradox of promoting and preserving both majority rule and minority rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the United States, for example, recognize popular sovereignty, the will of the people, as the foundation for the authority of government.[14] And both documents emphasize the rights to freedom and dignity of all persons, including members of unpopular minority groups and individuals who dissent from the opinions of the majority of the people. Therefore, in their dual emphasis on majority rule and minority rights--in their strong sanction of both the collective will of the people and the particular rights of individuals--these two documents, the United Nations Declaration and the United States Constitution, pose a perennial predicament, a continuing challenge in civic education about human rights.

As civic educators, we teach our students that majority rule and minority rights are values at the core of our civic culture. Do we also confront the challenge of teaching the cases in our constitutional history that illuminate the conflicts between these core civic values?

If not, we should do it, and do it emphatically, because this is civic reality, a critical issue of human rights in the lives of citizens.

If they are to become enlightened citzens of a constitutional democracy, our students must understand the necessity of limits, legal and cultural, on the rival claims of fundamentally important values, such as majority rule and minority rights. Unlimited or extreme majority rule would destroy the rights and liberties of individuals in the minority, and conversely, unlimited rights and freedoms for individuals or minority groups, would preclude majority rule, and civil society too.

This unavoidable and paradoxical problem of human right and freedom--how to conjoin majority rule and minority rights to create a workable synthesis in an orderly society--this problem challenges us as teachers, students, and citizens to search for acceptable limits on contending forces. So, here are generic questions in civic education for human rights. Under what conditions, and at what point, should the law limit the majority to protect the rights of individuals in the minority? And when and why should minority rights be limited by law to preserve the will of the majority? Specific answers to these categorical questions will vary with issues and their circumstances, but the civic values and principles in the questions--these are the constant characteristics of a

constitutional democracy. If either one of the opposing civic values is sacrificed to the other, then the constitutional democracy, and the human rights it entails, will be lost. This should be a fundamental lesson in an enlightening education for citizenship, one that develops in citizens the capacity for judgment needed to advance human rights and conserve political systems that support these rights.

This view of human rights in a civil society can be traced to the founding period of the United States.[15] It is richly documented in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, George Mason, and James Madison, among others.

A portion of a letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson is especially instructive on the dangers to human rights from an insufficiently limited majority: "Wherever the real power in a government lies, there is the danger of oppression," wrote Madison. "In our government," he said, "the real power lies in the majority of the Community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents. This is a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to...."[16]

It seems that Madison's enduring truth is still not adequately attended to in civic education. Numerous

studies of adolescents and adults in the United States have revealed an ongoing problem: attitudes about human rights are generally positive, but support for certain liberties and rights tends to decline markedly when they are applied to cases involving unpopular individuals or minority groups.[17] It seems that a large proportion of citizens in our constitutional democracy do not understand one of the fundamentals of their political system, which means that teaching and learning about the paradox of majority rule with minority rights is a continuing challenge for civic educators.

Of course, the particular conditions and issues of this challenging paradox have changed significantly since James Madison's time, as our conception of human rights has expanded to include many freedoms and opportunities and groups of people left out of it two-hundred years ago. It is likely that the specific issues of minority rights in the United States today would astound and perhaps confound James Madison and other enlightened founders of the American republic. Nonetheless, they would not be surprised that the fundamental terms of the problem remain; nor would Madison be dismayed to see the acknowledgment of limits on the exercise of rights that appears in Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As Buergenthal and Torney point out in their important study on human rights and education: "The Declaration

recognizes that the rights it proclaims are not absolute and permits a state to enact laws limiting the exercise of these rights, provided their sole purpose is to secure "due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society' Article 29)."[18]

Inherent in Article 29, as in the Constitution of the United States, are the unavoidable public issues generated by conflicts between civic values, such as the perennial concern of citizens for both public order and personal liberty. Under certain conditions one of these civic goods must yield somewhat to the other. The challenge for civic educators is to develop sufficient knowledge and wisdom among citizens, who must make the critical judgments about how to blend and balance these contrapuntal civic values.

In responding to this challenge, civic educators should emphasize the analysis and evaluation of constitutional issues in history and current events that involve value conflicts between majority rule and minority rights, public order and freedom of expression, property rights of individuals and the well being of the community, and so forth. Landmark cases of the United States Supreme Court are a rich source of issues and value conflicts for students to analyze and appraise. So are public debates

about constitutional amendments, such as the recently defeated proposal for an Equal Rights Amendment.

Numerous studies in schools have supported the potential effectiveness of teaching and learning about public issues in an open and supportive classroom environment. If students feel free and secure about expressing ideas on controversial topics, even if their ideas are unusual or unpopular, they are more likely to learn positive attitudes about human rights and to develop high-level cognitive skills necessary for the exercise of responsible citizenship in a constitutional democracy.[19] Furthermore, teachers are likely to enhance their students' learning if they provide systematic instruction in critical thinking about human rights issues.[20]

Both national and international issues should be included prominently in the civics curriculum. Enlightened citizenship in today's world demands a global perspective on human rights concerns and controversies, which leads us to the third and final challenge for civic educators in this presentation.

Challenge Number Three: Connecting National and International Perspectives in the Education of Citizens about Human Rights

Our students in civic education must learn new global realities about human rights, such as the following world-wide trends. During the latter half of this century, human rights have become prominent items on the international political agenda, and their flagrant abuse anywhere in the world is likely to become a global issue. Most governments in the nation-states of today's world recognize the legitimacy of international interest in the inherent rights of everyone. And citizens of nation-states around the globe are more likely today than in the past to challenge violations of human rights both within and outside of their national political systems.

In today's world, there is an emergent continuum of concern for human rights that extends from the local to the national to the international levels of social and political organization, and both governmental and non-governmental organizations are involved. In recent years, labor unions, religious institutions, professional associations, and special interest groups, for example, have joined the world-wide struggle for human rights. Amnesty International, formed in 1961, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977 and has become a powerful international force for the abolition of certain human rights abuses.

Intelligent education for citizenship must acknowledge the reality of an incipient global community and thereby connect national and international perspectives on human rights. There is no other way to prepare students adequately for participation in the world of the twenty-first century.

Current reformers of the secondary school history curriculum have sensed this pressing need to link national and global contexts. For example, the report of the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools recommends three years of history for high school students, which integrates United States history with world history, "teaching our nation's history as part of the general story of humanity."[21] A central theme in parts two and three of this three-year sequence of courses is the history of democracy and the human rights associated with it. This theme is developed first in Western civilization and then in the relationships of the West with other parts of the world.

The Bradley Commission on History in Schools proposes that all students acquire "a global perspective on a shared humanity and the common human condition." And a vital theme in this perspective is, "The tensions between the aspirations for freedom and security, for liberty and equality, for distinction and commonality, in human affairs."[22]

The Education for Democracy Project places the highest priority on human rights and democracy in American history and world history. The proposed central idea of the high school history curriculum is "the origins, development, and problems of democracy in the world."[23] According to Paul Gagnon, the principal investigator of the project, "there is no substitute for the framework and perspective that narrative political history affords [in civic education for democracy and human rights]. To drop it in favor of some other sort of history, or for concept-centered social studies, is to drop the story of democracy itself. The great, critical choices affecting all of our lives have been and are made in the political arena. The central human drama is there."[24]

Some may argue with Gagnon's strong emphasis on Western Civilization in world history. Others may take issue with his hard-line opposition to "concept-centered social studies" or with his seemingly exclusive reliance on narrative political history. But his emphasis on critical study of democracy as a central and unifying theme in world history seems to fit widely accepted goals about human rights in citizenship education.

One facet of a central civic theme in history should be comparative studies of ideals and realities, in which students use the seminal statements about universal human rights as standards for judgment of people and events in

history. This type of learning experience is an antidote to curriculum materials that confound ideals with reality and gloss over the ugly events in our past. The study of human rights in history properly involves human failings. But if we, as civic educators, ought to include tragedies and shortcomings in the story of human rights, we should also be careful to examine them carefully in historical context and to judge people in the past, at least initially, in terms of the prevailing standards of their own times. In teaching about human rights in history, we should instruct our students in humility and advise them always to follow a historian's "golden rule"--let us judge people of the past as we would have people in the future judge us.

Another rule in teaching about human rights in world history is to balance and blend the opposing ideas of unity and diversity among the world's cultures and peoples. Current curriculum guides, however, tend to stress cultural diversity and social pluralism to a fault, perhaps in response to the faulty underemphasis on these ideas in the past. But we must not forget that diverse values and cultural patterns are different responses to <u>common human needs</u>. A preeminant global historian, Geoffrey Barraclough, eloquently reminds us of the fundamental unity of seemingly diverse peoples in our world: "In the long run, salvation is the result of recognizing the fundamental unity of mankind," writes Barraclough, "the fact that, in

spite of different social organizations, different values, different cultural traditions, everywhere there are basic similarities of human nature, human thinking and human responses. To recognize that seems to me the challenge of the twenty-first century...."--a challenge that teachers and students can confront by connecting national and international perspectives in the education of citizens about human rights.[25]

Among the basic similarities that Barraclough stresses are common concerns about human rights among seemingly diverse peoples around the world. These concerns are expressed locally, nationally, and globally by various peoples in different places on the planet. And the same kinds of human rights issues, generated by conflicts between civic values--personal liberty versus public order, for example--are confronted everywhere in the world. Lessons on human rights that conjoin national and international perspectives should also balance and blend human diversity with the fundamental unity of mankind, in line with the advice of Geoffrey Barraclough.

Conclusion

Human rights in human societies: teaching and learning about this grand idea is difficult to do well and poses many challenges for conscientious civic educators. In this paper, I have highlighted and examined three of these challenges: (1) the challenge of conceptualization, (2) the challenge of value conflict analysis, and (3) the challenge of connecting national and international perspectives.

One pedagogical imperative permeates my responses to these three challenges: the necessity of teaching and learning about human rights issues in education for citizenship. These issues pertain (1) to definition and meaning of human rights in the lives of people, (2) to analysis and appraisal of value conflicts about human rights in a constitutional democracy, and (3) to judgments about the origin, evolution, and problems of human rights in the history of nation-states and of the world.

However, communities of students and adult citizens cannot intelligently examine or appraise or debate and discuss human rights issues without a precious common possession--they require sufficient knowledge in history, geography, and other social sciences to sustain and illuminate their deliberations and discourse. And this, too, raises a formidable challenge for civic educators, because assessments of knowledge in the 1980s on core subjects--history, geography, economics, government, and

international relations--reveal abysmal ignorance among large numbers of adolescents and adults in the United States.[26] This overwhelming evidence should prompt civic educators to improve upon the teaching and learning of knowledge in history and the social sciences, especially facts and ideas that pertain to the analysis and appraisal of human rights issues in our nation-state and our world.

Good intentions, generally positive attitudes, and belief in so-called "correct" points of view will not lead to the result we want, which is enlightened citizens who are willing and able to analyze, appraise, and act justifiably in response to the enduring human rights issues in our world. If we would both maintain and improve upon our human rights heritage, we must first know its origins, evolution, problems, and perennial issues. A final word from C.P, Snow, the late English humanist and scientist, is instructive on this point: "It seems to me important that men of good will should make an effort to understand how the world ticks," wrote Snow, "it is the only way to make it tick better." Snow's observation is especially compelling with regard to the challenges of human rights in education for citizenship.[27]

Notes

1. Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence," in Garry Wills, Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1978), 374.
2. Letter from James Madison to William T. Barry, 4 August 1822, in Marvin Meyers, ed., The Mind of the Founder: Sources of the Political Thought of James Madison (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1973), 344.
3. See the principal address of Representatiave James Madison of Virginia in the House of Representatives, recommending a series of additions to the Constitution which would provide a Bill of Rights, June 8, 1789, Annals, 1st Congress, 1st Session, 441.
4. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 20 December 1787, in Michael Kammen, ed., The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1986), 91.
5. Quoted in The Living Thoughts of Thomas Jefferson, John Dewey, ed.(New York: Fawcett World Library, 1940), 123.
6. Laurie S. Wiseberg, "Human Rights as a Global Issue," in James E. Harf and B. Thomas Trout, eds., Global Issues: Human Rights (Columbus: Consortium for International Studies Education, The Ohio State University, 1980), 18.

7. This concept of "negative liberty" is discussed in Robert Allen Rutland, The Birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955); see also Laurie S. Wiseberg, "Human Rights as a Global Issue."

8. Atlantic Council's Working Group on the Successor Generation, The Teaching of Values and the Successor Generation (Washington, DC: The Atlantic Council of the United States, 1983).

9. Two excellent sources on the contents and meaning of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related United Nations documents on international human rights are Margaret Stimmann Branson and Judith Torney-Purta, eds., International Human Rights, Society and the Schools (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1982 and Thomas Buergenthal and Judith V. Torney, International Human Rights and International Education (Washington, DC: U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1976).

10. Laurie S. Wiseberg, "Human Rights as a Global Issue," 28-29.

11. Sidney Hook, Political Power and Personal Freedom: Critical Studies in Democracy, Communism, and Civil Rights (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 56; see also Sidney Hook, Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the Twentieth Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

12. Hugo L. Black, "The Bill of Rights," New York University Law Review, XXXVII (June 1962): 867.
13. Sidney Hook, The Paradoxes of Freedom (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1962), 14.
14. See Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States; further, see various parts of the Constitution of the United States that provide for participation of the people in election of their representatives in government.
15. Michael Kammen, People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
16. Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 18 October 1788 in Marvin Meyers, ed., The Mind of the Founder: Sources of the Political Thought of James Madison, 157.
17. Many studies have documented the tendencies of American adolescents and adults to express political intolerance toward particular individuals or minority groups. Here are examples of these studies: Stanley M. Elam, "Anti-Democratic Attitudes of High School Students in the Orwell Year," Phi Delta Kappan 65 (January 1984): 327-332; Herbert McCloskey and Alida Brill, Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe about Civil Liberties (New York: Russell Sage

Foundation, 1983; H.H. Remmers, ed., Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1963; Gail Zellman, "Antidemocratic Beliefs: A Survey and Some Explanations," Journal of Social Issues 31 (1975): 31-53.

18. Thomas Buergenthal and Judith V. Torney, International Human Rights and International Education, 87.
19. James S. Leming, "Research on Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction: Interventions and Outcomes in the Socio-Moral Domain," in William B. Stanley, ed., Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1976-1983 (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1985), 123-197.
20. Edith M. Guyton, "Critical Thinking and Political Participation: Development and Assessment of a Causal Model," Theory and Research in Social Education," XVI (Winter 1988): 23-49.
21. Curriculum Task Force, Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century (Washington, DC: National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, final pre-publication draft, September 1989), 34.
22. Bradley Commission on History in Schools, Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools (Washington, DC: Educational Excellence Network, 1988), 10, 15.

23. Paul Gagnon, Democracy's Untold Story: What World History Textbooks Neglect (Washington, DC: American Federation of Teachers,1987), 139.

24. Ibid., 29.

25. Geoffrey Barraclough, Turning Points in World History (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 73.

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